piece pendent. Silver armlet above right elbow. Four copper armlets above left elbow. Four silver and seven composition bangles on left forearm. Two silver rings on right ring-finger; two steel rings on left ring-finger.

2. Tattooed on forehead; quadruple row of dots over right deltoid; star on right forearm.

3. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and upper arm. Spot on chin; elaborate device on right forearm; rayed star or sun on back of hand.

4. Tattooed like the preceding on forehead and arm. Triple row of dots on back and front of left wrist, and double row of dots, with circle surrounded by dots, across chest.

Toreya women are only allowed to wear bangles on the wrist.

The tattoo marks on the foreheads of Udayar women consist of a crescent and dot, and they have a straight line tattooed at the outer corners of the eyes. Women of the other sub-divisions have on the forehead two circles with two vertical dashes between them, and a horizontal or crescentic dash below. The circles are made by pricking in the pigment over an impression made with a finger ring, or over a black mark made by means of such a ring. The operation is performed either by a Badaga or Korava woman. The former uses as needles the spines of *Carissa spinarum*, and a mixture of finely powdered charcoal or lamp-black mixed with rice gruel The marks on the forehead are made when a girl is about eight or nine years old, and do not, as stated by Mr. Natesa Sastri, proclaim to the whole Badaga world that a girl is of marriageable age.

In colour the Badagas are lighter than the other hill tribes, and the comparative pallor of the skin is specially noticeable in the females, whom, with very few excep-

1; Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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648 by the Todas to the elders of a tribe with which they have very close relations, and it is perhaps significant that no similar sign of respect is shown to Toda elders by the Badagas."

648 439 Every Badaga family has its Muttu Kota, from whom it gets the agricultural implements, pots, hoes, etc. In return, the Kotas receive an annual present of food-grains, mustard and potatoes. For a Kota funeral, the Badagas have to give five rupees or a quantity of rice, and a buffalo. The pots obtained from the Kotas are not used immediately, but kept for three days in the (824) jungle, or in a bush in some open spot. They are then taken to the outer apartment of the house, and kept there for three days, when they are smeared with the bark of *Meliosma pungens* (the tūd tree of the Todas) and culms of *Andropogon Schœnanthus* (bzambe hullu). (783) Thus purified, the pots are used for boiling water in for three days, and may then be used for any purpose. The Badagas are said to give a present of grain annually to the Todas. Every Toda mand (or mad) seems to have its own group of Badaga families, who pay them this gudu, as it is called. "There are," Dr. Rivers writes, "several regulations concerning the food of the palol (dairy-man of a Toda sacred dairy). Any grain he eats must be that provided by the Badagas. At the present time more rice is eaten than was formerly the case. This is not grown by the Badagas, but nevertheless the rice for the palol must be obtained through them. The palol wears garments of a dark grey material made in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the palol by the Badaga called tikelſmav. The earthenware vessels of the inner room (of the ti dairy) are not obtained from the Kotas, like the ordinary vessels, but are made by Hindus, and are procured through the Badagas."

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852 (868) sitting down, milks a small quantity into the honē. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking, and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the honē is previously filled almost to the brim. The boy takes the vessel filled with milk into his house, and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken up on himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk in the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly, and bless him, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes, and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this, the boy enters the milk-house (hāgōttu), and places milk in his honē there. From this moment, and all through his life, he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony."

234 788 A cow or buffalo, which has calved for the first time, has to be treated in a special manner. For three or five days it is not milked. A boy is then selected to milk it. He must not sleep on a mat, or wear a turban, and, instead of tying his cloth round his waist, must wear (784) it loosely over his body. Meat is forbidden, and he must avoid, and not speak to polluting classes, such as Irulas and Kotas, and menstruating women. On the (783) day appointed for milking the animal, the boy bathes, (824) and proceeds to milk it into a new honē purified by smearing a paste of *Meliosma* (tūd) leaves and bark over it, and heating it over a fire. The milk is taken to 782 a stream, where three cups are made of *Argyreia* (mīnige) 788 leaves, into which a small quantity of the milk is placed. (234) The cups are then put in the water. The remainder of the milk in the honē is also poured into the stream. In some places, especially where a Mādeswara temple is

front of the temple, one shouting 'How-ko, How-ko,' and the other 'Is-hōli.' The dance was taught them by the Todas, and the words are Toda."

In connection with the Jadeswāmi festival the ceremony of walking through fire [burning embers] is carried out at Mēlūr, Tangālu, Mainelē, Jakkanāre, Tenād, and Nidugala. At Mēlūr and Tangālu, the temples belong to the Hāruvas, who carry out all the details of ceremony. The temple at Tenād is owned by the Udayas, by whom the ceremonial is performed. In other places, the celebrants are Badagas. The festival is observed, on an elaborate scale, at Nidugala during the month of January. All those who are going to walk over the burning embers fast for eight days, and go through the rite on the ninth day. For its performance, Monday is considered an auspicious day. The omens are taken by boiling two pots of milk side by side on two hearths. If the milk overflows uniformly on all sides, the crops will be abundant for all the villages. But, if it flows over on one side only, there will be plentiful crops for villages on that side only. The space over which the embers are spread is said to be about five yards long, and three yards broad. But, in some places, *e.g.*, Jakkanāre and Mēlūr, it is circular as at the Muhammadan fire-walking ceremony. For making the embers, the wood of *Eugenia Jambolana* and *Phyllanthus Emblica* are used. For boiling the milk, and setting fire to the wood, a light obtained by friction must be used. The process is known as niligolu, or upright stick. The vertical stick is made of a twig of *Rhodomyrtus tomentosus*, which is rotated in a socket in a long thick piece of a bough of *Debregeasia velutina*, in which a row of sockets has been made. The rotation is produced by a cord passed several times round the vertical stick, of

1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
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789 twice more. A general feast closes the ceremony, and
796 next day the first ploughings are done, the Kurumba
sowing the first seeds, and the priests the next lot.
(241) Finally, a net is brought. The priest of the temple,
standing over it, puts up prayers for a favourable agricul-
796 tural season; two fowls are thrown into it, and a pretence
782 is made of spearing them; and then it is taken and put
across some game path, and some wild animal (a sāmbhar
deer if possible) is driven into it, slain, and divided
among the villagers. This same custom of annually
killing a sāmbhar is also observed at other villages on
the plateau, and in 1883 and 1894 special orders were
passed to permit of its being done during the close
789 season. Latterly, disputes about precedence in the matter
796 of walking through the fire at Mēlūr have been carried
as far as the civil courts, and the two factions celebrate
(518) the festival separately in alternate years. A fire-walking
ceremony also takes place annually at the Jadayasvāmi
temple in Jakkanēri under the auspices of a Sivāchāri
(231) Badaga. It seems to have originally had some connec-
tion with agricultural prospects, as a young bull is made
to go partly across the fire-pit before the other devotees,
and the owners of young cows which have had their
first calves during the year take precedence of others
in the ceremony, and bring offerings of milk, which are
sprinkled over the burning embers."

796 At the Sakalathi festival, in the month of October,
Badagas, towards evening, throw on the roofs of their
• (824) houses flowers of *Plectranthus Wightii*, *Crotalaria obtecta*, *Lobelia nicotianæfolia*, *Achyranthes aspera*, and *Leucas aspera*. On the following day, they clean their houses, and have a feast. In the afternoon, numbers of them may be seen in the streets drawing in front of their houses pictures in wood-ashes of buffaloes, bulls, cows,

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881 night, and returns home on the following day clad in new cloths, leaving the old ones in the hut. When she arrives at her house, she salutes all the people who are there, and receives their blessing. On Sunday she goes to the houses of her relations, where she is given kadalai (*Cicer arietinum*) and other food. She may not enter the inner apartment of her house until she has seen the crescent moon. Badaga women observe five days menstrual pollution. If a woman discovers her condition before washing her face in the early morning, that day is included in the pollution period. Otherwise, the period must be prolonged over six days. On the third day she bathes in cold water, using the bark of *Pouzolzia* (thorē-kōlu), and on the fourth day is allowed a change of clothing after a bath. On this day she leaves the hut, and passes a portion of the night in the verandah of her house. After cooking and eating her evening meal, she bathes, and enters the outer room. Early on the following morning, the spot which she has occupied is cleaned, and she bathes in a stream. Returning home, she eats her food in the outer room, where she remains till next morning. Even children may not be touched by a menstruating woman. If, by chance, this happens, the child must be washed to remove the poilution, before it can be handled by others. This restriction is apparently not observed by any other tribe or caste.

841 (515) (824)

584 Writing concerning marriage among the Badagas, Harkness states * that "it is said to be common for one who is in want of labourers to promise his daughter in marriage to the son or other relative of a neighbour not in circumstances so flourishing as himself. And, these engagements being entered into, the intended bridegroom

(583)

* *Op. cit.*

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should be accessible to her brothers-in-law. Instances occur, in which the husband is much younger than his wife, who, until he has reached maturity, cohabits with her paternal aunt's son, or some one whom she may have a fancy for. The marriage ceremony of the Udayas is carried out on an elaborate scale, and is based on the type of ceremonial which is carried out by some castes in the plains. Before dawn on the marriage day, the brothers and cousins of the bridegroom go, accompanied by some Udayas and the Kota band, to the forest, whence they bring two sticks of *Mimusops hexandra*, to do duty as the milk-posts. The early hour is selected, to avoid the chance of coming across inauspicious objects. The sticks should be cut off the tree at a single stroke of the bill-hook, and they may not be laid flat on the ground, but placed on a blanket spread thereon. The Udayas, who joined in the procession, collect twelve posts of *Mimusops* as supports for the marriage booth (pandal). In front of the house, which is to be the scene of the wedding, two pits are dug, into which cow-dung water is poured. The pūjāri does pūja to the milk-posts by offering sugar-cane, jaggery (crude sugar), etc., and ties two threads thereto. The posts are then placed in the pits by five people—the parents of the bridal couple and the priest. The booth, and dais or enclosure, are then erected close to the milk-posts. On the second day, the bridegroom's party, attended by Kota musicians, dressed up in dancing costume, go to the house of the bride, where a feast is held. The bride then salutes a lamp, and prostrates herself at the feet of her parents, who bless her, saying "May your body and hands soon be filled (*i.e.*, may you have a child), and may your life be prosperous." The bride is taken in procession to the house of the bridegroom,

764 gaudy petticoats and smart turbans. "No woman," Mr.
[292] Natesa Sastri writes, "mingles in the funeral dance
if the dead person is a man, but, if the deceased is a
[562] woman, one old woman, the nearest relative of the
dead, takes part in it." But, at the funerals of two men
which we witnessed, a few women danced together with
the men. Usually the tribesmen continue to arrive until
2 or 3 P.M. Relations collect outside the village, and
advance in a body towards the car, some, especially the
sons-in-law of the dead man, riding on ponies, some of
them carrying sāmai grain. As they approach the car,
they shout "Ja! hoch; Ja! hoch." The Muttu Kotas
bring a double iron sickle with imitation buffalo horns
on the tip, which is placed, with a hatchet, buguri (flute),
and walking stick, on the car or on the ground beside it.
When all are assembled, the cot is carried to an open
space between the house and the burning-ground, fol-
lowed by the car and a party of women carrying the
baskets containing grain, etc. The car is then stripped
of its trappings, and hacked to pieces. The widow is
brought close to the cot, and removes her nose ornament
(elemukkuthi), and other jewels. At both the funerals
which we witnessed, the widow had a narrow strip of
coloured chintz over her shoulders. Standing near the
corpse, she removed a bit of wire from her ear-rings, a
lock of hair, and a palm leaf roll from the lobe of the
ear, and tied them up in the cloth of her dead husband.
After her, the sisters of the dead man cut off a lock of
• (824) hair, and, in like manner, tied it in the cloth. Women
attached to a man by illegitimate ties sometimes also
cut off a lock of hair, and, tying it to a twig of *Dodonæa*
(783) *viscosa*, place it inside the cloth. Very impressive is
the recitation, or after-death confession of a dead man's
sins by an elder of the tribe standing at the head of the

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764 rowed by the Todas from one or other of these races."
783 At the funerals, of which we were spectators, no calf was
(171) brought near the corpse, and the celebrants of the rites were satisfied with the mere mention by name of a calf, which is male or female according to the sex of the deceased. At the funeral witnessed by the Rev. A. C. Clayton, a cow-buffalo was led three times round the bier, and a little of its milk, drawn at the time, put into the mouth of the corpse. Then a buffalo calf was led thrice round the bier, and the dead man's hand laid on its head. By this act, the calf was supposed to receive all the sins of the deceased. It was then driven away to a great distance, that it might contaminate no one, and
764 it was said that it would never be sold, but looked on
843 as a dedicated sacred animal. If a dead man leaves a widow in a state of pregnancy, who has not performed the kanni kattodu or marriage thread ceremony, this must be gone through before the corpse is taken to the pyre, in order to render the child legitimate. The pregnant woman is, at the time of the funeral, brought close to the cot, and a near relation of the deceased, taking up a cotton thread, twisted in the form of a necklace without any knots, throws it round her neck. Sometimes the hand of the corpse is lifted up with the thread, and made to place it round the neck. At the funeral of the young man, Mr. Clayton saw this ceremony performed on his pregnant wife. After a turmeric-dyed cord had been taken from the hands of the corpse and tied round her neck, she was again brought to the side of the bier, and her ear-rings, nose ornaments, and other articles of jewellery, were removed in token that she had
764 become a widow. Soon after the recitation of sins, all
• (824) the agnates go to the house of the dead man, at the entrance to which a gunny-bag is spread, whereon a small

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764 quantity of paddy is poured, and a few culms of *Cynodon*
(824) *Dactylon* and a little cow-dung are placed on it. The eldest of the agnates, sickle in hand, takes some of the paddy, and moves on, raising both hands to his forehead. The other agnates then do the same, and proceed in Indian file, males in front and females in the rear, to the corpse. Round it they walk, men from left to right, and women in the reverse direction, and at the end of each circuit put some of the paddy on its face. The cot is then carried to the burning-ground, a woman heading the procession, and shaking the end of her cloth all the way. The corpse is laid on the pyre with its feet to the south, and the pyre lighted by the eldest son standing at the head. The sticks of which the car was constructed are added to the fuel, of which the pyre is built up. In some places the son, when lighting the pyre, repeats the words "Being begotten by my father and mother, I, in the presence of all and the Dēva, set fire at the head after the manner of my ancestors and forefathers." The Rev. A. C. Clayton records that, before the procession started for the burning-ground, some female relatives of the dead man tied locks of their hair round the toes of the corpse, and others went three times round the bier. On the day following the funeral, the bereaved family distribute rice to all the Badagas of the hamlet, and all the near relations of the deceased go to the burning-ground, taking with them two new pots. The fire is extinguished, and the fragments of the bones are
(824) collected. A tray is made of the fronds of the bracken fern (*Pteris aquilina*) covered with a cloth, on which the bones are placed together with culms of *Cynodon* grass and ghī. The Badagas of the hamlet who are younger than the deceased salute the bones by touching them, and a few men, including the chief mourner,

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hold the tray, and convey it to the bone pit, which every hamlet possesses. Into it the bones are thrown, while an elder repeats the words "Become united with the line of your relations, with your class, and with the big people," or "May the young and old who have died, may all those who have died from time immemorial up to the present time, mingle in one." When the pit has been closed up, all return to the spot where the body was burnt, and, clearing a space, make a puddle, round which they stand, and throw into it a handful of korali (*Setaria italica*), uttering the words "May deaths cease; may evils cease; may good prevail in the village; in virtue of the good deeds of the ancestors and forefathers, may this one mingle with them." This ceremony concluded, they repair to a stream, where a member of the bereaved family shaves a Toreya partially or completely. Some take a razor, and, after removing a patch of hair, pass the Toreya on to a barber. All the agnates are then shaved by a Badaga or a barber. The chief mourner then prostrates himself on the ground, and is blessed by all. He and the Toreya proceed to the house of the deceased. Taking a three-pronged twig of *Rhodomyrtus tomentosus*, and placing a mīnige (*Argyreia*) leaf on the prongs, he thrusts it into a rubbish heap near the house. He then places a small quantity of sāmai grain, called street food, on the leaf, and, after sprinkling it thrice with water, goes away.

It was noted by Harkness that, at the burning-ground, the son or representative of the deceased dropped a little grain into the mouth of the corpse, carrying in his left hand a small bar of iron, which is supposed to have a repulsive power over the spirits that hover about the dead.

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woman). May he become united with the men of his clan and caste."

The funeral rites of the Udayas differ in some important details from those of the Badaga sub-division. The buffalo catching, and leading the animal round the corpse, are omitted. But a steer and heifer are selected, and branded on the thigh, by means of a hot iron, with the lingam and other emblems. Bedecked with cloths and jewels, they are led to the side of the corpse, and made to stand on a blanket spread on the ground. They are treated as if they were lingams, and pūja is done to them by offering cocoanuts and betel leaves, and throwing flowers over them. Round their necks kankanams (marriage threads) are tied. They are made to turn so as to face away from the corpse, and their tails are placed in the hands thereof. An elder then proceeds with the recitation of the dead person's sins. The Udayas bury their dead in a sitting posture in a cell dug out of the side of the grave, and, like the Irulas, prefer to use a grave in which a previous burial has taken place. At the four corners of the grave they place in the ground a plant of *Leucas aspera*, and pass a cotton thread laterally and diagonally across the grave, leaving out the side opposite the cell. Two men descend into the grave, and deposit the corpse in its resting place with two lighted lamps.

In 1905, an elaborate Badaga memorial ceremony for ancestors called manavalai, which takes place at long intervals, was celebrated on the Nīlgiris. I gather from the notes of a Native official that an enormous car, called ēlu kudi tēru (seven-storeyed car) was built of wood and bamboo, and decorated with silk and woollen fabrics, flags, and umbrellas. Inside the ground floor were a cot with a mattress and pillow, and the stem of

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days. Nearly three thousand females, and six thousand males, assembled on Thursday. To crown all the confusion, there appeared nearly a thousand Badagas armed with new mamotis (spades). They came on dancing for some distance, rushed into the crowd, and danced round the car. These Badagas belonged to a gang of public works, local fund, and municipal maistries. On the last day a sheep was slaughtered in honour of the deity. The musicians throughout the festivities were Kotas and Kurumbas. The dancing of the men of three score showed that they danced to music, and the stepping was admirable, while the dancing of young men did not show that they had any idea of dancing, or either taste or knowledge of music. They were merely skipping and jumping. This shows that the old art of the Badaga dance is fast decaying." The cot is eventually burnt at the burning-ground, as if it contained a corpse.

A kind of edible truffle (*Mylitta lapidescens*) is known as little man's bread on the Nīlgiris. The Badaga legendary name for it is Pāndva-unna-buthi, or dwarf bundle of food,* *i.e.*, food of the dwarfs, who are supposed once to have inhabited the Nīlgiris and built the pāndu kūlis or kistvaens.

The story goes that Lord Elphinstone, a former Governor of Madras, was anxious to build a residence at Kaiti. But the Badagas, who had on the desired site a sacred tree, would not part with the land. The Governor's steward succeeded in making the Badaga headman drunk, and secured, for a rental of thirty-five rupees annually, the site, whereon a villa was built, which now belongs to the Basel Mission.†

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* Report, Government Botanic Gardens, Nilgiris, 1903.
† E. Schmidt. Reise nach Südindien, 1894.

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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A ritual is not a network, but it is a medium of communication and provides an occasion for the personnel of all the networks of the village to converge in one place and act out their public roles. Ceremonial events are thus events of communication in two distinct senses. First, the confluence of people allows many local information networks to be reactivated; someone asks about getting a loan, another seeks opinions on a land dispute, a third takes a look at some potential brides. Second, the ritual itself conveys information to the participants. As we shall demonstrate, this message is a dramatization of the idea that the community is stable and its future assured.

The Todas, Kotas, and Badagas, three communities on the Nilgiri Plateau[1] in Southern India, are all cattle-keepers. For the Todas buffalo herding is the major occupation; for the Badagas it is subsidiary to agriculture; and for the Kotas it is subsidiary to both agriculture and a variety of traditional handicrafts. Each of these groups now keeps cattle only for their milk products, though until several decades ago the Badagas and Kotas also used oxen for drawing their ploughs.[2] Each group gives salt to its herds once or more a year and each culture has a complex ceremonial for feeding the salt to the cattle.

Confining ourselves to the Badagas,[3] we now ask a question that would in fact be equally pertinent to the case of the Todas or the Kotas: why is the giving of salt a day-long ceremony instead of merely a routine act of animal husbandry? Why are so many people and so much time involved in what a single boy could do in half an hour? The Badagas themselves would answer this question by invoking the "force of tradition"; but surely tradition is not *per se* an adequate explanation for the persistence of such a ceremony. The Badagas also maintain what is to them a perfectly rational explanation for the act of giving salt to their cattle. After heavy rains the young grass "tastes saltless," and the herds graze unenthusiastically; their owners make up this dietary deficiency by giving salt to the animals. The explanation suggests that these people understand something of the leaching process, but it certainly does not answer our original question: why has the act of salt-giving become a major annual ceremony?

Salt is regularly given to the cattle in March and at the end of December; in years when the grass is "saltless" a third dosage is given, generally in the month of June. On all three occasions the salt is given to the animals on a Monday, the weekly holiday of the Badagas, but it is only in March that the event is treated ceremonially.[4]

In the various writings abut the Badagas during the past 150 years there are only two brief references (Benbow 1928: 32-33; Karl 1945: 17), both fairly recent, to this salt-giving ceremony. Nevertheless it seems certain that the ceremony has a considerable antiquity; the comparable Toda ceremony was mentioned by Father Finicio in 1603 (Rivers 1906: 726). The Badagas did not become literate until the present century, yet they have an extensive and generally credible body of orally transmitted history relating to their way of life in the days shortly before the British settled in the Nilgiri Hills (i.e., prior to 1820). These Badaga accounts are explicit about

796 basket and goes to the bank of the stream, facing toward the sun. In one hand he holds a pot. The rest of the men do likewise, taking care to [292] stand downstream from the leader. Each has a handful of salt and a pot, and each wears a cotton shawl which leaves the entire right arm bare.

796 The leader (usually prompted in a whisper by some one else who knows it better) then pronounces the following prayer (pausing at the end of 782 each line, whereupon the rest of the party repeats the last word in lieu of saying the entire line over):

539 O Lord [Swami], we today celebrate things as our
fathers, grandfathers and forefathers have done.
782 Old is not new, and new is not old [i.e., old things
796 are not neglected, nor new things added].
Whatever we sow, may it grow more than ninefold.
Whichever female cattle conceive, may they give us
plenty of milk.
Whatever we put on the threshing ground, may it not be
wasted [i.e., may all the grain reach the store
without mishap].
O God, may the cow or young buffalo be impregnated by
the male just after getting its second teeth.
Just before getting its fourth teeth, may its calf walk.
May the house be filled with children, and may the pen
be filled with cattle.
Let everything be good. *Hau hau!*

The prayer is uttered in this fashion three times. At the end of the second recital the men shout *"hau hau"* twice, and at the end of the third they shout it at least three times, in expression of their happiness.

As the final words of this prayer are uttered, each man stoops beside the stream, still with his salt in one hand and pot in the other. He mixes the salt in the running water and catches some of this saline solution in the pot.

796 The leader then takes his pot of brine and pours it into the pit that he dug. The other men follow suit. Then all the cows and oxen, but not the 231 buffaloes, are driven to the pits to drink. When the animals have emptied a pit, more water is thrown in and further salt added without additional ceremony. Only after the cows and oxen wander away from these pits are the buffaloes finally allowed their drink of brine. A few of the men then refill their pots with water and pour it over the backs of the animals "to cool them."

796 When this phase of the proceedings is completed, each man fills his pot with water again and then sits down in the grass nearby. At this point 648 one or two Todas, who have been waiting for this moment, come forward and approach each Bâdaga in turn. The Badagas give most of the salt remaining in their baskets to these Toda friends.

796 After this, one of the Badagas goes to a dewberry bush and cuts off a •824 branch. This is regarded as a ritual, and is done with a small knife made by
[412]
[648]

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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Kotas especially for this purpose. Sprigs from the branch are distributed, and every man places a small sprig on top of the salt that remains in his basket. A branch is also cut from the hill gooseberry and distributed in exactly the same way.

796
The celebrants now return to their homes, again led by the man from the Great House. Other male members of each family may follow this party, driving the buffaloes and carrying the hoes. Each man in the ceremonial party, however, has to carry his own potful of water, his iron rod, and his basket (which now contains a little salt, the two twigs mentioned, and also a remaining piece of the *'hubbe* that has otherwise been used as a brush). As the men walk they chant *"hau hau,"* an expression of their happiness. When they reach the hamlet they shout *"ki:i:hi,"* which means, "It is finished." Then the party splits up. Each member goes to his calves and gives them a taste of the salty water he has brought back. After that he is ready to enter his house.

There is still more ritual to be performed, however, for the man must enter his house in a prescribed way. As he comes toward the entrance, the oldest woman in the family stands just inside the inner room, leaning out through its doorway in such a way that she can also see through the entrance to the house. As soon as she sees the man coming across the front yard, she asks him three times in succession, "Have all the cattle drunk salt well?" He answers "Yes" each time. During this interchange the man continues walking but his pace is measured so that he will not enter the house until he has said "Yes" for the third time. On reaching the doorway he is careful to step auspiciously across the threshold with the right foot first.

Once inside the house he stands the iron rod against the wall near the door, and then puts the basket of salt on top of the hole in the floor where grain is usually crushed and where the salt was powdered earlier. The woman then comes from the inner room, takes the three sprigs from this basket, and hangs them from the ceiling of the outer room. She carries
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the basket to the inner room, which is a kitchen and dining room, and she uses up whatever salt remains in cooking a meal. During the whole performance of the salt-giving ceremony she should use no other salt than this.
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(Nowadays she has generally finished cooking by the time the man returns home, and so just adds a pinch of his salt to the prepared meal.)

The meal which is served at this time to the members of the household
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differs from ordinary morning meals in certain respects. The man who has represented the family in the salt-giving ceremony is served before everyone else; ordinarily this would only occur when no other adult male members of the family were present. Furthermore, he is served in the outer room of the house, although meals are otherwise eaten in the inner room, where
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they are cooked. He eats butter first of all; the rice and vegetable curry
515
follow. Afterwards he must wash his hands in cold water; usually he washes in hot.

During the afternoon each of the celebrants carries his pot of water to the cattle pen and there pours it on the ground. Again the man from the

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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121 the stream, the cattle shed, and the hearth. Furthermore, the participants in
796 this ceremony do all they can to insure that they are in a state of purity, and that they do nothing to cause a mishap during this particular day.

Let us now examine these points in more detail. The requirements of
783 ritual purity and bodily cleanliness are a *sine qua non* for the performance of any ceremony. If a man does not approach the gods with the knowledge that he has done all that he can to be in a pure state, he has little hope that
175 his prayers will be answered. In pre-British days, when the salt had to be
437 purchased in the plains below, it received special treatment from the mo-
439 ment of purchase onward to insure that it would not become polluted
783 before the ceremony. The men who were to carry the salt up the mountain slopes were not to carry anything else; contact with ordinary foodstuffs would pollute this particular salt. The annual trading expeditions were normally timed so as to fall a few weeks before the salt-giving ceremony. Nowadays a Badaga simply buys his own salt in the town market and brings it home without special ritual precautions.

High in the roof of each cattle shed are shelves on which various dairy
231 articles are stored. The man who brings the salt home is supposed to take it
778 straight to the cattle shed and place it on one of these shelves; he must not
783 bring it directly into his house, even though he will later have to do so when the ceremony is about to begin. It is felt that the salt would become polluted in the house if it were brought into an unpurified room where sexual activity has occurred. The cattle shed, though not considered a temple like the Toda dairy, is a pure and sacred place because milk is stored
783 there. When the salt is finally brought into each purified house for powder-
796 ing, it is whisked around the mortar with the help of a freshly cut twig of wild *'hubbe* (also used for loosening any salt that remains on the bottom of the basket). The Badagas have two kinds of broom, one for indoor use
(824) and one for outside; but both are considered impure because of what they have come in contact with, and so cannot be used for sweeping the salt
(412) around while it is being powdered. The used part of the *'hubbe* branch is
(783) thrown away after this, and the unused remainder is placed on top of the salt. From the time of purchase onward, this salt is always carried in a special basket kept only for this purpose.

It is not only the salt that must be kept in a ritually pure state; the
783 man selected to perform the ceremony on behalf of each household is also under certain restrictions. From the day of the new moon until after the salt has been given to the cattle this man must not shave, have sexual re-
lations, cut his finger or toe nails, or stay overnight anywhere other than
in his own home. By observing all these prohibitions he is believed to build
(765) up a state of personal purity. (Were a man to cut his hair and shave, it would suggest he had recently attended a funeral and was still in the inauspicious state of mourning for a deceased relative.) The culmination of this spiritual preparation comes on the night preceding the ceremony, when he must sleep alone on a sack on the earthen floor, wearing cotton and without any other bedding.

(356) Early the following morning the house has to be purified too. After the

3: Hockings: E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AN50 Badaga AN50

356 783 (237) womenfolk have bathed, they clean the house thoroughly, sprinkle the floor with fresh, semi-liquid cowdung (in Indian thinking, a purifier), and then bring a clean supply of water into the house in clean pots. Not until these preliminaries have been completed and the house can also be considered pure is the man allowed to go to the cattle shed and bring the new salt into his house for powdering.

783 796 By the time the representatives of each family are ready to leave their houses, therefore, they have done all that they possibly can to insure that their persons, their homes, and their salt are in a ritually pure condition. From this point onward there is no further attempt to increase their purity; instead the men lavish care on making no inauspicious slip in their movements.

796 (824) (787) This is thought to be a joyful ceremony, and the acts done to promote an auspicious atmosphere are many. Strings of hill mango[9] leaves are hung over the doorways of the houses to indicate that an auspicious ceremony is in progress. As the men prepare to leave their houses with the salt, there are careful precautions to insure that the man from the Great House is the first to step outside; it would be an ill-omened lack of deference should anyone else precede him. He goes and stands on the *'hattane*, the village green, but he is careful to face away from the houses. The other men to perform the ceremony then line up behind him; were the leader to look around it would indicate that he was faltering or turning back from the performance of an auspicious ceremony.

(787) Thus when the man from the Great House feels that it is time to start off toward the stream with his followers, he cannot look behind, but he asks if all of them have come. The reply that the men give must always be "Yes"; again, it would mean an ill-omened delay for them to answer otherwise. If the leader suspects that in fact the party is not yet ready to leave, he may pose his question in an indirect fashion, as for example, "We are proceeding." If some men have still to reach the green, the reply will be a half-assent such as, "You can if you want to." A negative answer should never be given. If everyone necessary is present, on the other hand, someone merely says "Yes."

It is important that nobody, even in casual conversation, use phrases such as "it is finished" or "it is completed," from the time they leave their houses until they return to the hamlet again. This too would be most inauspicious. The logic underlying the proscription, according to one old man, is that "we should not limit, finish, or complete our society."

While en route to the stream the party must never stop; nothing must block them in the performance of such a beneficial ceremony. Should they meet any other group of people, the latter must give way; and if the other group is going to an inauspicious ceremony such as a funeral they should hide out of sight of the salt-bearing party. (This is also true of the return home afterwards.) Throughout this journey the man from the Great House must remain in front of everyone else, and when they reach (576) the stream he must dig his pit first. Deference to him is expressed again

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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796 when the men stand beside the stream, for it is important that he stand upstream of everyone else so that the water he uses will be purer than [576] that taken by the others (since it is untouched by their hands). While this ceremony is being performed it is also important that no one present, even a headman, wear a turban. The head of each participant must be bare in deference to the leader. When the men are ready to pour brine into the pits they must wait until the leader has done so. And when finally water is poured into their cattle pens the man from the Great House must again be the first to do so.

The prayer, led by this man, is spoken three times. When each participant returns home he is asked three times whether the cattle have drunk well; he answers three times in the affirmative; then a woman hangs up three sprigs from the ceiling. Badagas believe that performing any ritual act thrice makes it especially efficacious.

The foregoing acts, all aimed at insuring an auspicious atmosphere during the ceremony, are but a backdrop to the real business of the day: the expression of hope and gratitude to cattle, friends, and nature.

231 Man's indebtedness to his cattle is expressed on this occasion not only
796 by feeding them salt (which they are thought to enjoy); often when the cattle are being brought together in the hamlet before being taken to the salt pits they are washed and decked with garlands. After they have drunk their fill of brine it is believed that they feel intoxicated, and so the owners pour water over the backs of the animals to cool them. During the afternoon the only work men are permitted to do outside is to make the cattle sheds more comfortable by cleaning or repairing them.

796 Man's dependence upon wild plants is also given expression during this ceremony. We have already mentioned the use of *'hubbe* as a brush.
• 824 A part of it is also used for sweeping out loose dirt when the pits are dug. This used piece is thrown away, but a sprig of *'hubbe* is still kept on top of the salt and is later carried back to the house. Along with this *'hubbe*, sprigs of two thorn bushes are carried in the basket. When the man has entered his home, these three sprigs are hung from the ceiling. They indicate to the household that the ceremony has been completed without mishap, that the family has participated in the occasion, that the house has been purified, and that hopes for the future are bright. The value [262] of wild plants is also recalled at this time; both thorn bushes (the dewberry and the hill gooseberry) are a favorite source of sweet, edible fruits. In addition, the wood of the hill gooseberry is very strong, and in earlier [372] days served as material for walking-sticks. It still has an important religious role, as it is used for making ritual fire by friction. The axle in a Badaga's household grindstone is also made of this wood, and the buds and leaves of the hill gooseberry are used in a common medicine for constipation.

796 As the men walk home behind the man from the Great House they continuously chant *"hau hau," "e: hau hau," "ho: hau hau,"* or *"hau ko."* Every one of these interjections is an expression of happiness. Each participant is careful to enter his house with the right foot crossing the

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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178 But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

121 Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

101 121 1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

242 428 2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

121 161 4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

231 196 5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

115 6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

(439) (648) 7. Called *'uppu ḳuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

(436) (437) 8. The term *'hubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

285 618 9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

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41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

126 problems of comprehension, which were grounded in the different taxonomies used by Badagas and Europeans. The categorization of plants was different from anything a botanist might recognize. A number of distinct species, sometimes even from different botanical [824] families, can be identified by the Badagas with a single name; while conversely they may have several names for plants of the same species at different stages in their development. Nonetheless it was possible, with the help of professional botanists, to get an identification for virtually every plant used in a medicine. My knowledge of physiology was clearly different from (I would have said, in advance of) [123] what the Badagas knew, and hence we had endless discussions about whether it was the stomach or the liver, a nerve or an artery. The tradition of secrecy further complicated data collection, in that an unrepresentative and too small sample of therapists had to suffice; and their medical practices have to be regarded as idiosyncratic because we do not know if they are universally found among all practitioners within this community of 120,000 people. On the face of it, it would seem unlikely that cures for the "same" malady are identical throughout the community, since there has been no interest group to bring the therapists together.

128 Although this study may sometimes read as though it were written in the "ethnographic present," that is not actually so. If I put a sentence in the present tense and then follow it by such a reference as (Harkness 1832: 18), I mean that the data are true today and were also noted in 1832.

122 The data on which this study is based were gathered during my tenure of a fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies, and my period as an exchange scientist with the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. I am grateful to both the United States and the Indian governments for making the necessary funds available through these organizations, in 1963 and 1972 respectively.

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4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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there. (The Todas are the only group in this region who habitually wipe the rectum with green leaves.)

2.11. The nose is cleaned by holding it between the index finger and thumb of the left hand, and blowing the mucus onto the ground. With babies, a relative sucks the nose and then spits the mucus out.

No one should spit on the floor of the house or blow his nose there. Well-mannered people do not spit on the yard outside either, but might instead spit on the grass of the village green provided nobody else was nearby. Furthermore, people do not spit in a temple out of respect for the god; nor on a funeral ground. Two types of spittoons, nowadays of brass, are kept in the house: a *kuplike* for men and an *uggu kiṇḍi* for men and old women. The latter vessel must be kept in the outer room, and although men do use the vessel they will not touch it. The men's spittoon, *kuplike*, must not be used by women, but may be carried into the inner, more sacred room of the house.

Spitting is an act that normally accompanies the chewing of tobacco. It is charged with a good deal of social significance. Thus if a woman spits on the ground near an enemy, this means: "I don't like you — go away!" A man will spit at an enemy when abusing him, but if he otherwise spits in someone's direction it means he is going to fight with that person. If during a ceremony a boy is staring at a girl in the crowd, she either opens her mouth to show that she will accept his advances, or spits on the ground to show she does not. Until the nineteenth century one of the severest punishments for a woman was to make her drink water from an earthen spittoon in public.

2.12. Badagas clean the teeth by rubbing them with charcoal and then rinsing the mouth. Those who have settled in the Waina:ḍ (the Waina:ḍ Gaudas) make a black powder for cleaning the teeth, by frying up the husks of grain with salt. A proverb wisely admonishes that, "The teeth are spoiled by not picking with a stick."

2.13. In early days Badaga women rubbed butter into their hair and bodies (as Toda women still do); but they used no scents. In those times women had no hair brushes, and so they would take the prickly seed pod of the thorn-apple, dry it out, and use it instead. Now hairbrushes are universally used.

Women regularly remove their armpit and pubic hair nowadays, with the help of a special soap sold in the market which causes the

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
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(824)

improve the hair, two other procedures can be followed. Either the hair is washed, using the bark of *toreko:lu* for soap; or else some tiny buds of common bracken are ground up till they form an oily paste. This is used as a shampoo for some days when washing the baby's head.

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A disease that occurs among youngsters causes patchy baldness, as clumps of hair fall out. It is said that "insects" are eating at it and so they must be killed. A biece of hard, hairy bezoar stone, called "hair-diamond," is bought in a bazaar. It is dipped in milk and then rubbed onto the bald patch repeatedly until it bleeds. Then "the insects inside die," I was told.

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5.27. "It is bad if a tooth sticks out; it is bad if a river passes beyond the river bank." Thus if a child's tooth is not growing in the right direction an older woman of the household soon tries to bend it into position. She works at this every morning after the child wakes up, and before he eats, for one or two weeks. There are two procedures: either the child sits by the fire and the tooth is held in a cloth that has been heated over the fire; or else the cloth is dipped in very cold water before use. *Ma:dua*, a mouth disease common among children, is described later (6.39).

(164)

TONSILITIS (*tonde kaṭalu*) 752 826

5.28. In earlier days some therapists grew the nails of the left thumb and index finger for use in tonsilectomy. Tonsils were taken out after they ached or swelled so much that the child could not eat. Someone pressed the back of the tongue down with a cooking skillet, so that the child could not close his mouth, while others held his head and arms to keep him still. The therapist put her thumb and index finger down the throat and pinched the tonsils off with her long sharpened nails. (They could be thrown away anywhere.) A pancake made of fresh finger millet was then prepared and kept aside until it was cool and dry. Then it was cut into small pieces and these were

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231 caused some rearers of livestock to start keeping compost pits. In
654 each hamlet or village there is usually a grassy clearing or raised
368 platform where male representatives meet and Badagas gather to chit-
chat. A large tree (often a Ficus sp.) may shade this meeting place.
512 Some Badaga women still must fetch water from nearby springs or
streams, but many Badaga hamlets and villages now have water piped to
368 faucets set near house-rows. A burial-cremation center is within easy
walking distance from each Badaga community. Most Badaga communities
491 have roads running to or through them, and a fair number of these
363 roads are asphalted. Scheduled buses run over some roads, and a few
494 Badagas now drive individually or jointly owned cars, buses, station
493 wagons, and trucks.

Houses. Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with
175 front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small
342 front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other
[350 darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made
(824) with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. How-
(333) ever, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch
1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor
342 (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined
house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room.
This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into
the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom
extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a
(354) kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

368 there is a burial-cremation center. All communities are in easy walking distance from roads, and narrow paths--sometimes running over
361 dikes separating wet rice fields--are used to gain access to roads.
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Houses, temples, and shrines. Excluding certain resemblances
342 in the interior plan, the Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga house type is quite
[184] different from the one used by upper Nilgiri Badagas. Each house has an earthen platform, often partially made with fine earth from termite hills (Figures 22 and 23). Six large posts embedded in the platform are surmounted by pole plates supporting a series of rafters. Out from these posts, on or along the edge of the platform, there are additional lesser posts surmounted by pole plates supporting the rafters. The steep-sided hipped roof slopes down from a short horizontal crest to a height of about five feet from the ground (Plate
• [824] XII, B). Most roofs have rice straw thatch over bamboo strips lashed onto rafters, but a few houses now have tiled roofs. A rectangular house wall raised around the six large posts is constructed with mud similar to that used in the platform. The wall is built around wooden door frames and occasional window frames. Because there is space left between the wall and platform edges, a veranda runs around the house. An entranceway edged by shallow walls, typically made by Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas, often runs across the veranda. In a house-row some side walls serve two houses, the roof crest is elongated, and a veranda usually runs around the combined houses. A shrine or storage
[353] room built next to a normal dwelling is incorporated into a house-row. If a house front is considered to be the side edging a courtyard,

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

that originally this milking of the buffaloes must have been the main vocation of the Badaga. The boy then takes the vessel thus filled with milk into his house and pours some of the sacred fluid into all his household eating vessels—a sign that from that day he has taken upon himself the responsibility of supplying the family with milk. He also throws some milk on the faces of his parents and relatives. They receive it very kindly and bless him, each in his or her turn, and request him to continue thus to milk the buffaloes and bring plenty and prosperity to the house. After this the boy enters the milk-house—the *Hâgôṭu*—and places milk in his *Hoge* there. From this moment and all through his life he may enter into that room, and this is therefore considered a very important ceremony.

The next important rite among the Lingâyat sect of the Badagas is the wearing of the *Liṅga*, or the initiation of the boy into his religion, which takes place about the thirteenth birthday of the boy. The priest conducts this ceremony and the elder relations of the family have only to arrange for the performance of it. The priests belong to the Uḍaya sect of the Badagas. They live in their own villages, and are specially sent for and come up to the boy's village for the occasion. The ceremony is done generally to several Badaga boys of almost the same age on the same day. On the day appointed all the people in the Badaga village where this ceremony is to take place observe a strict fast. The cows and buffaloes are all milked very early in the morning and not a drop of the milk thus collected is given out or taken by even the tenderest children of the village who may require it very badly. The Uḍaya priest who has been invited arrives near the village between 10 and 12 A.M. on the day appointed. He never goes into the village, but stops near some rivulet adjacent to it. The relations of the boy or boys approach him with a new basket containing five measures of uncooked rice and pulse, ghee, &c., and a quarter of a rupee,—one fanam, as it is generally designated. The priest sits near the water-course and lights up a fire on the bank. Perfumes are thrown profusely into it and this is almost the only ceremony before the fire. The boys whose turn it is to receive the *Liṅga* that day are all directed to bathe in the river. A plantain leaf cut into one foot square is placed in front of the fire towards the east of it. The *Liṅgas*, kept in readiness by the parents of the boys, are now received by the priest and placed on the leaves. The boys are asked to wash them—each one the *Liṅga* meant for his wearing—in water and milk. Then comes the time for the expenditure of all the collected milk of

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
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539 which may be freely translated thus:—'This is the death of Śevani (a Baḍaga female). In memory of her, Jannige the she-calf of the buffalo Bannige is given in donation to atone for her sins. She goes now in a car from this mortal world to the great world (heaven). All the one hundred sins committed by the ancestors of this person, committed by the ancestors of the ancestors of this person, all the sins committed by this person herself, *viz.*, not giving of cooked rice as food to the son in distress, the not giving of fire to the neighbour, the sin of having pointed out the wilderness, and so led into difficulty the son who wanted to know the way, the sin of having ruined brothers and sisters, the sin of having taken away others' property and houses, the pouring of water on a blazing fire—may all these one hundred sins be washed away by this person coming in contact with the gold pillar[1] and by her rubbing herself against the silver pillar.[1] May the door of the house of Karma (Fate) be shut up against this person. May the door of the house of Dharma (Meritoriousness) be open to this person. May the devils and other evil beings cease their mischief to this person. May the Milapâla thread become tight to enable the soul of this one to walk over it and reach the heavens. May the door of the world of happiness (Sagga-Svarga) be open to this person. May this person become resplendent with beauty, by taking hold of the feet of that Brahma,[2] and by taking hold of the feet of this Basava[2]. May this one reach the holy presence of Śiva.' All say 'May it be so.—Amen'.

764 Let us suppose that the burial ground is reached, and that the Baḍaga in the case before us belongs to a caste that is accustomed to bury its dead. The eldest of the agnatic kindred fixes a crowbar on the south side of the corpse. All the other Baḍagas now join him in digging a big oblong pit to contain the dead body. The body is then taken round this pit and is placed in it with its face turned [824] towards the north. Four twigs of the Apâmârga (Tamil Nâyuruvi—*Achyranthes aspera*) are planted at the four corners of this oblong [231] pit. A lighted lamp made of cowdung and filled with oil is placed [312] beside the head of the corpse and threads are passed diagonally

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[775] [1] Gold and silver pillars are supposed to exist in the other world and the soul of the dead by coming in contact with these is believed to wash away all its sins.

[776] [2] Gods in whom the Baḍagas believe in this world. Basava is regularly worshipped. Śiva is the highest god in their mythology and through the worship of Brahma and Basava they reach him in the end.